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# **Liberation**

THE UNIVERSITY  
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PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM

**What I Believe**

**Vinoba Bhave**

**No Real Peace Policy**

**Pitirim Sorokin**

**Guilt in Post-war Germany**

**John K. Dickinson**

**TRACT FOR THE TIMES**



**Some Little Sayings**

**KENNETH PATCHEN**

Volume I Number 1

30c

## In this Issue-

VINOBA BHAVE (pronounced Bah-vay) was one of Gandhi's leading associates. Gandhi called him "teacher", rather than "pupil". In 1940 in the civil disobedience against the British in India Gandhi chose him to be the first to break the law. Nehru was chosen second. In 1951 he launched the Bhoodan or Land Gift movement, calling on the people of India to turn over their land for distribution to the poor.

In three years he collected over 4 million acres—or approximately one-seventh of the land of India—to be redistributed. The journalistic aspects of Vinoba's program have been described in *Time*, the *New Yorker*, and other American publications. The present article shows the more comprehensive and revolutionary character of his work.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, was for many years head of the Harvard Sociology Department. His writings include *Leaves from a Russian Diary*, in which he described his earlier life as a university professor and government

official in Russia, and the four-volume *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, recognized as one of the landmarks of modern sociological thought. He is now director of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism.

KENNETH PATCHEN was one of the few anti-war poets of the Thirties who did not join the Office of War Information or the Campaign for a Second Front during World War II. He now lives in San Francisco. Among his recent books are *The Famous Boating Party* and *Other Prose Poems* (1954), *Orchids, Thorns and Caravans* (1955) and *Glory Never Guesses* (1955).

JOHN K. DICKINSON was formerly the co-editor of *Probe* magazine and is now associated with the Office of Tests of Harvard University.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, Bayard Rustin, an editor of *LIBERATION*, is in Montgomery, Alabama. He will write an article for the April issue on the non-violent resistance campaign of the Negroes.

## Liberation

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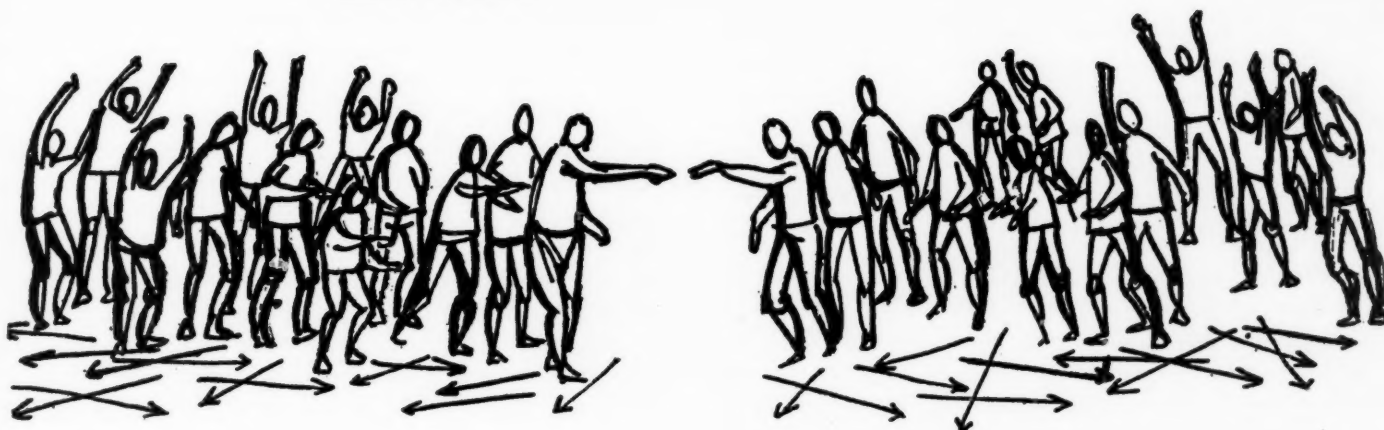
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# Tract



**for the times**

The decline of independent radicalism and the gradual falling into silence of prophetic and rebellious voices is an ominous feature of the mid-twentieth century. Anxiety and apprehension have invaded the air we breathe. Advances in science and technology, which should have been our greatest triumphs, leave us stunned and uncertain as to whether human life and history have meaning.

Power is everywhere openly or secretly idolized. The threat of atomic or biological war, perhaps even the extinction of mankind, hangs over the earth. Hopes and ideals have become propaganda devices. But those who should furnish vision and direction are silent or echoing old ideas in which they scarcely believe themselves.

This failure of a new radicalism to emerge is an indication, it seems to us, that the stock of fundamental ideas on which the radical thinking of recent times has been predicated is badly in need of thorough reappraisal. Much of its inspiration appears to be used up. Old labels—principally in the Marxist and liberal traditions—simply do not apply any more, and the phrases which fifty years ago were guideposts to significant action have largely become empty patter and jargon.

The changes of recent years—represented by atomic power and by the beginnings of the Second Industrial Revolution and also by the rise of totalitarianism—have filled many thoughtful persons with the strong suspicion that the problems of today must be attacked on a much deeper level than traditional Marxists, Communists and various kinds of Socialists and Anarchists have realized. Proposals and calls to action couched in the old terms fail any longer to inspire much hope or genuine humane enthusiasm, because large

numbers of people are aware, or dimly sense, that they do not touch the roots of the trouble.

There is no point, for example, in reshuffling power, because the same old abuses still persist under new masters. The vast energy devoted to reconstructing government is wasted if in a short time the new structure becomes as impervious to fundamental human decency and ethics as the old one. There is no doubt that there are forms of property relationships which are oppressive and destructive of true community, but if these are altered and the average individual finds his life as dull and empty as ever and the enslavement of his hours just as great, little or nothing has been achieved.

It is increasingly evident that nineteenth century modes of thought are largely incapable of dealing with such questions. The changes which are going on in the modern world—which call into doubt many assumptions which almost all nineteenth century revolutionists and reformers took for granted—require also changes in our deepest modes of thought. We require a post-Soviet, post-H-bomb expression of the needs of today and a fresh vision of the world of peace, freedom and brotherhood in which they can be met.

## *Our Root Traditions*

In reexamining our thought—and especially the two great dominant traditions of liberalism and Marxism—



we return in part again to root traditions from which we derive our values and standards. There are four of these:

1. There is an ancient Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition which gave men a vision of human dignity and a reign of righteousness, equality and brotherhood on earth. It taught them that building such an order of life was their task, and that a society of justice and fraternity could be built by justice and love and not by any other means.
2. There is an American tradition—far from having been realized, often distorted and all but lost—of a “nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” It is a tradition which also emphasizes the dignity of man and asserts that government rests upon consent, and institutions are made for man, not man for institutions. Such names as Jefferson, Paine, Thoreau, Emerson, Debs, Randolph Bourne, the Quaker experiment in Pennsylvania, the Utopian community experiments, the Abolition movement, the Underground Railway, are associated with this tradition.
3. There is the heritage of the libertarian, democratic, anti-war, socialist, anarchist and labor movements in Europe and the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Multitudes of common people, the impoverished and distressed, believed that through these movements, with the help of modern science and technology, a “class-less and war-less world” had become possible and would in a comparatively short time be achieved.
4. There is a tradition of pacifism or non-violence which has been exemplified throughout the centuries and in many parts of the world in great teachers and saints—or in such a figure as the Emperor Asoka—who have rejected war as accursed and unworthy of men and have insisted that injustice and violence cannot be overcome by injustice and violence but only by righteousness and peace. In particular, Gandhi stands in this tradition, not as an example to be slavishly imitated, but as a pioneer who in a series of great political and social experiments joined non-violence and revolutionary collective action.

#### *Critique of Liberalism*

In the light of these root traditions we can see that the greatness of liberalism has been its emphasis on humaneness and tolerance, its support of the liberties of the individual and its insistence on the free and inquiring mind and rejection of fanaticism and dogmatism. Its weakness has been its failure to come to grips with war, poverty, boredom, authoritarianism and other great evils of the modern world. These problems

it has tended optimistically to leave to “education” and “good will”, both of which have so far proved incapable of dealing with them successfully. Liberalism has tried to diagnose our troubles without going to fundamentals—the inequalities and injustices upon which our present social order is based and which no “good will” can wish away.

This failure to raise the embarrassing questions has made liberalism often shallow, hypocritical and dilettantish, all too often lacking in fundamental earnestness. Essentially the liberal accepts the existing order and wants to exploit it and share in it as much as the next man. At the same time he is troubled and wants the good conscience of repudiating its wrongs. Liberalism thus becomes a fashionable pose—for millionaires and generals as well as for intellectuals and editorial writers. It becomes a public ritual lacking roots in private life and behavior, and makes the liberal an easy prey of opportunism and expedience.

As against this liberal attitude a new quality of seriousness and personal honesty is necessary. In this respect what is wanted is not political liberalism but political fundamentalism. We are more interested in concrete situations than in rhetorical blueprints, in individual lives than in “global historical forces” which remain merely abstract. What matters to us is what happens to the individual human being—here and now. We will be just as flexible as the liberal, but we will strive to be more searching, and we will insist on spelling things out in terms of daily consequences, hour to hour, for everyone.

#### *Critique of Marxism*

Marxism, like liberalism, has much to teach both positively and negatively. Its fundamental demand for economic justice and its attack on the problem of poverty are permanently valuable. It touches the source of much that is wrong with the world in exposing the property nerve. But many of its attitudes are those of the out-moded bourgeois epoch which it tried to repudiate. Marx was to a much greater degree than he himself realized a spokesman for nineteenth century thought patterns, now hopelessly out of date. His historical determinism, built up by analogy from now out-moded science, is an example. So also is the tendency to sacrifice the present for the future, so that human beings of today are regarded as pawns for bringing about something better in a tomorrow that never comes.

The most serious weaknesses of Marxism, however, are its omissions and its reactionary “realism” in respect to the instruments of revolution. Marx, for all his brilliant analysis of economic power, failed to analyze with equal profundity the questions of military and political power. Hence he underestimated the seriousness of the growth of the state and its emergence as



an instrument of war and oppression. In trying to liberate mankind from economic slavery, he failed to see the looming horror of political slavery.

Closely related to this failure is Marx's inability to realize that social betterment cannot be brought about by the same old methods of force and chicanery characterizing the regimes which had to be overthrown precisely because they embodied such evils. It is an illuminating insight of pragmatism that means and ends condition each other reciprocally and that the ends must be built into the means. It is not sound, therefore, to expect to achieve peace through war, justice through violence, freedom through dictatorship, or civil liberties through slave labor camps. Such instruments create the social attitudes and habit patterns which they are ostensibly designed to remove. Dictatorship in any form, as well as spy systems, concentration camps, military conscription, restrictions on travel and censorship of books, papers and political parties must all be decisively rejected. What this means is that a truly radical movement today—if it does not want to fall into the trap which the Russian Communist movement has fallen into—must take these ethical problems much more seriously than many nineteenth century thinkers did, and must commit itself to an essentially democratic and non-violent strategy.

### *The Politics of the Future*

One of the symptoms of our time is that many people are fed up with "politics"—by which they mean the whole machinery associated with political life. To become significant, politics must discover its ethical foundations and dynamic.

The politics of the future requires a creative synthesis of the individual ethical insights of the great religious leaders and the collective social concern of the great revolutionists.

It follows that we do not conceive the problem of revolution or the building of a better society as one of accumulating power, whether by legislative or other methods, to "capture the State," and then, presumably, to transform society and human beings as well. The national, sovereign, militarized and bureaucratic State and a bureaucratic collectivist economy are themselves evils to be avoided or abolished. Seizure of the war-making and repressive machinery of the State cannot be a step toward transforming society into a free and humanly satisfying pattern. It is the transformation of society by human decision and action that we seek. This is a more complex and human process in which power as ordinarily conceived plays a minor part. Political action in this context is, therefore, broadly conceived. It includes such developments as the Land Gift Movement in India and community and cooperative experiments in many lands. New political alignments in the

narrower sense of the term may emerge from basic ethical and social changes, but preoccupation with or dependence upon the machinery of politics, or the violent seizure of power, are evils always to be avoided, and never more so than in the present crisis.

Similarly, we reject the faith in technology, industrialization and centralization *per se*, characteristic of both the contemporary capitalist and Communist regimes. Our emphasis is rather on possibilities for decentralization, on direct participation of all workers or citizens in determining the conditions of life and work, and on the use of technology for human ends, rather than the subjection of man to the demands of technology.

From the synthesis of the ethical and the political emerges a new attitude toward utopianism in social and cultural thinking. Under the impact of Marxism, utopianism became virtually a term of abuse. But this attitude itself was narrow and misjudged the scientific method, not seeing that the essence of science is its openness to new and creative insights and its willingness to test them experimentally. The utopian attitude is one that is permanently needed in human affairs. It represents the growing edge of society and the creative imagination of a culture.

As we recognize more and more the imaginative and speculative element in mathematics and science and as the mechanical determinism of the last century passes away, the outmoded "scientific" aspect of nineteenth century Marxism will begin to disappear, and Marx will then appear in his true light as one of the great visionaries and utopian thinkers of that century. With new conditions, modifications of his utopian thinking are necessary and new utopias will appear, to furnish direction and incentives for action.

The world *can* move toward the abolition of war and toward a society built on responsible freedom, mutuality and peace. Collective effort and struggle to achieve such a society should not be abandoned because the movements of an earlier day have been frustrated or wrecked.

The very presuppositions on which human relationships are based must be revolutionized. This makes it peculiarly difficult to live responsibly as individuals today and to carry on collective efforts for basic changes. In addition, the creation of a movement of dissent and social change in the United States is impeded by a sustained, war-based prosperity, with millions of unionists making a living at war jobs. This makes the task virtually as difficult in the United States as in Russia or other Communist-bloc countries.

The problem of war is one of special gravity for us, as for all our fellow men. It may be argued that for personal ethics there is no distinction between a war in which a few persons are killed at a time and one in which multitudes are wiped out. But from a sociological

view, the H-bomb and what it symbolizes—possible extinction of the race itself—present mankind with a new situation. War is no longer an instrument of policy or a means to any rational end. For this reason, if for no other, a central part of any radical movement today is withdrawal of support from the military preparation and activities of both the dominant power blocs. Whatever differences may exist between Communist and “free world” regimes, in this decisive respect they are equal threats, two sides of the same threat to the survival of civilization. The H-bomb is not an instrument of peace in the hands of one and of war in the hands of the other. Nor is it a mere accidental excrescence in either of them but, rather, a logical outgrowth of their basic economic and social orders.

War and war preparation in the hands of any other power or group of powers is not a source of deliverance either. A Third Force based on military power would be reactionary and evil just as the present power blocs are. Any “Third Camp” or “Third Way” grouping of peoples must, therefore, be founded on an essentially non-military, non-violent base.

There are in Western Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, peoples who live “in between” the two atomically armed power blocs. Of necessity, their prime objective is to keep from being drawn into either bloc and engulfed in the wars for which these Leviathans are arming. Nor can these peoples “in between” escape the peril by seeking to constitute a third atomically armed power bloc. Even if they were permitted by the dominant powers to achieve such military and economic independence as to constitute a decisive “balance”, this would only serve to plunge the world into permanent war among three totalitarian tyrannies, on George Orwell’s model in “1984”.

There are in non-committed areas groups seeking to deal with the problems of economics and politics in a broader way and at a deeper ethical level. They seek to build not another Military Force but a Third Camp or Third Way. They are striving not only to avoid war but to build a socio-economic order and culture different from both Communism and capitalism. Such groups as the Asian Socialist parties, the Gandhian Constructive Workers, and the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave in India illustrate this trend, as do the non-violent responses to Colonialism in Africa. The June, 1953, workers’ revolts in East Germany were part of a spontaneous movement in this direction.

An important function of *Liberation* will be to provide information about such developments and to draw political and moral implications from them for the United States. It may, in addition, render these movements a genuine service by helping them to clarify their own thinking, on such basic questions as non-violence

in relation both to national policy and to social change within the nation.

Finally this does not in any degree imply preoccupation with affairs abroad to the neglect of developments in the United States. Nor does it mean concern with large-scale societal or governmental revolution to the neglect of the “one-man revolution” and of experiments in creative living by individuals, families, and small groups. Such activities are especially important because germinal. What happens in any significant sense in society as a whole is directly related, and to a great degree grows out of, what has already happened in the lives of individuals and small groups.

*Liberation* will seek to inspire its readers not only to fresh thinking but to *action now*—refusal to run away or to conform, concrete resistance in the communities in which we live to all the ways in which human beings are regimented and corrupted, dehumanized and deprived of their freedom; experimentation in creative living by individuals, families, and groups; day to day support of movements to abolish colonialism and racism or for the freedom of all individuals from domination, whether military, economic, political, or cultural.

*The editors*

### ... BOOTH YOUR HOUSES

A new ruling by the Senate ordered the removal of the two phone booths from the Press Gallery. One booth was controlled by The **Wall Street Journal**, the other by **Tass**, the Soviet news agency. Burnet Hershey sought the reaction of both. The **Wall Street Journal** man said this was a typical socialistic abuse of power. The **Tass** man said this was a typical capitalistic abuse of democratic right.

Leonard Lyons, **New York Post**.

### “ST. PETER, DON’T CALL HIM, ‘CAUSE HE CAN’T GO.”

It may interest you to know that . . . I never went on strike in my life. I never ran a strike in my life. I never ordered anyone to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. So if that is the type of power people have in mind, they should get another fellow for president, because I have no experience with that type of power.

George Meany, President of the new A. F. of L.-C. I. O. in a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, as reported in the **New York Herald Tribune**.

*Liberation*

*On August 15, 1947 India gained her independence. But the sovereignty of the people living in millions in the villages could not be and has not yet been established. On the contrary, a group of about half a dozen persons, viewing India from the eminence of their prosperity in New Delhi, are appointed to "plan" on behalf of the Government for the whole country.*

*The Government seeks to impose these plans on the people. This signifies an even greater denial of freedom and sovereignty to the villager to build himself as he thinks best. The result is that the evil system which seized our villages and village industries in its serpentine coils during the British rule is receiving every sustenance and nourishment, culminating in terrible unemployment, scarcity conditions and ruin. With a partiality for the rich and the possessing few, the Government, despite its good intentions, is only crippling the interests of the vast millions and whittling down the latter's claim for justice and fair play.*

*As a result Vinoba Bhave expressed the aspiration of the masses by calling for Village Rule.*  
Suresh Ramabhai



## What I Believe

### Vinoba Bhave

#### Common Ownership

PEOPLE have up to the present regarded themselves as owners of the wealth they might have. This has produced clashes of interests between different groups. I want to do away with this idea of private ownership of wealth. All that we have is for the service of society and not for our narrow selfish ends. Indeed, if we would but think of it deeply, real self-interest lies in making our wealth available for society.

What is "private" with us the mortals of this earth? Even the body which we own is not ours; for there comes a time when we cannot bear it ourselves and at least four others, if not more, are required to carry it for the last rites.

No sooner are we born than we get others—the mother, the home, society—all showering their blessings and love and affection on us. There is nothing which we can acquire by sheer "private" effort. We are obliged to society for what we may be. What we have is due to society.

An imposing legal framework has been raised around private property, giving it a look of respectability and therefore it does not strike us as wrong. We consider stealing to be a crime, but connive at those who encourage this anti-social activity by amassing heaps of money. As we know, it is the miser who gives rise to the thief. We condemn the thieves to rot in the prison-house, but let their creators roam about in complete freedom. They even occupy seats of honour and respectability in society. Is this justice?

It is in order to put an end to this hypocrisy that I have put forward the idea of land being the common property of all. All that we have, our land and property and intelligence; everything has to be an offering to others.

Today the man who earns money also earns worry. Though he may make money, he loses something more precious than money; the love of his fellow men, the love of friends and neighbours. That is why even the moneyed are unhappy in the existing society. Both the



rich and the poor are unhappy. The remedy is to change the order and place it on the secure basis of non-possession.

We have to realize that non-possession can also serve as a powerful means of social well-being. We have to prove that it is not only spiritually efficacious but it can help us in constructing a better and richer worldly life. The need of the hour is to mobilize all our wealth in every form and press it into the service of society. Turn every house into a bank on which society can draw freely for all it wants. And because what is offered will be used locally, it will make a very easily workable plan. It will directly lead to the building up of the collective strength of the people. It will unite them with one another and release tremendous energy for constructive effort.

There will come a time when everyone will give his wealth to the needy without caring for the morrow because when he requires it the next day he too will get it. It is only for the sake of facility that wealth is lying with individuals. Everyone has a right to it.

The days of kings are past; and so are those of capitalists. The present age has no use either for kings or for capitalists. The world to be belongs to the people, whose voice will henceforth be supreme. The rise of the people in the affairs of the world signifies that the present age demands equality—equality as between friends. The relationship between different individuals constituting society must be based on comradesly love. Not service but comradeship is the ideal.

We will respect virtues wherever we find them, but the relationship will be based on equality. Those who refuse to keep pace with the changing times not only get defeated but also suffer for it. No matter how big according to past standards an individual may be, in the changing times in which we are living, old habits and manners smacking of a superior air will not be tolerated.

### Equal Wages

WE AIM at nothing less than obliterating the distinction between the rich and the poor.

We have to build a society in which every calling is equally paid. Every calling has an importance of its own. That one work should be valued more than another is an injustice. It may be admitted that the responsibility implied in one work differs from that of another. But equal wages would have to be paid unless and until it is established that one with a greater responsibility feels more hungry than one with a lesser responsibility. It is wrong to pay according to the responsibility involved in a work or its extent.

Every man who works for society to the best of his ability has a right to a livelihood. All work which is an act of service to society must carry equal value. The prevailing practice is just the reverse. Intellectual

work is regarded as superior to physical labor and is paid more. This distinction between intellectual and physical labor is entirely baseless. Everyone must get full opportunity for development.

An age is coming when all will work and will regard it as a sin to eat without working.

### Decentralization of Power

TODAY we are busy in national planning. In fact, we require village planning. People of the village should exercise their own brains to do things. Should somebody err, only one village would suffer. But when the stewardship of the whole country is entrusted to four or five persons, the whole country has to suffer the consequences of their one, single mistake. But this will not be so when power resides in the village itself. If one village commits a certain blunder, another will not repeat it.

We want an order of society which will be free not only from exploitation but also from every governmental authority. The power of Government must be decentralized and distributed among the villages. In this way we will gradually reach a stage when authority in every form will have become unnecessary and will therefore fade away, giving rise to a perfectly free society.

We are told by those who run the administration that a government cannot function if there are small States within the Central State, but I am convinced that a military establishment is inevitable if we are not ready to decentralize power and authority. Then you should accept that the army is with us for good. You should never say again that you wish to be free of the army. If you wish to be free of military force you will have to



act as our Master has done. He has distributed intelligence to all—snakes, tigers and men, and then said live according to your intelligence. And the world runs so well that men doubt whether God exists or not. Our Government should function similarly so that men doubt whether there is a Government or not. Our Government will be truly non-violent when people say that there is perhaps no government in India.

## Technology

**MACHINES** are of three categories: time-saving, destructive, and productive.

I am not against time-saving machines such as trains, airplanes, etc. Though they do not add to the production of the country, they save time.

Destructive machines such as guns, bombs, etc. have no place. I am therefore opposed to them.

Productive machines are again of two categories: those that are helpful and those that are harmful, depending upon time, place, and circumstances in which they are used. A machine which might be harmful to one country may be helpful to another. A machine which might be helpful at one time might be harmful at another time. So also with the changes in circumstances. No set formula can be laid down to judge whether a machine is harmful or helpful. We, therefore have neither blind infatuation for machinery nor irrational opposition to it. Service of man will be the sole test for acceptance or rejection of a machine.

## Method of Change

**GOVERNMENT** cannot give up the responsibility of administration as long as society needs it. This is also a way of service. But it is not the service which creates the conditions where no power is necessary. Let me give an example. The battle has started and soldiers are being wounded. Those who have taken up the work of nursing these wounded soldiers are truly filled with compassion. They do not distinguish between friends or enemies. They go to the battlefield regardless of their lives and nurse as a mother alone can nurse her child. There is no doubt whatsoever that they are moved by human kindness and their service is valuable. Yet they do not work for stopping war. Their kindness and their service is but an integral part of the society which recognizes war. If we engage ourselves in such acts of kindness then we have not fulfilled our true function.

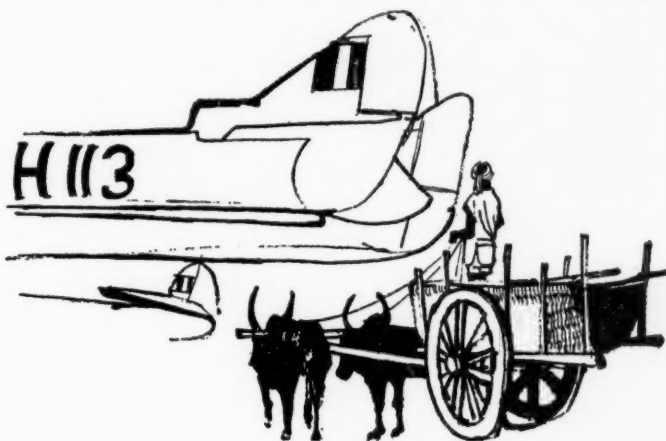
People ask me why I will not apply "pressure" on the government to frame laws. Well, I am, in fact, not interested in it. What I am interested in is wiping out the government itself and the creation of a new society.

The villagers must wake up to the realization of their duty. If the government does not come to their help, they should be bold enough to stand up against the government.

My duty leads me to the belief that if we create an atmosphere in the mind of the masses without the help of laws, then people will themselves share the land whatever the laws may be. Does the mother nurse her child because the law compels her? There is some force in the hearts of men which enriches their lives. Man relies on love. He is born of love. He grows on love and when the hour comes for him to leave this world,

he looks around him with the eyes of love and leaves his body and the world in peace if he can see someone whom he loves at the last moments.

Therefore, if in spite of knowing the power of love, I were to go on crying for legislation instead of relying on and developing this power in society then I shall not have done my work. Therefore I want to build up



and we must build up that Power of the People which will be different from the Power of the State.

## Non-Violence

**WE WANT** to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence. That is, we want both peace and revolution. Revolution is indispensable. Now if we want peace also, then we have to prove that peace too has the power to revolutionize society—not gradually but with the speed of a revolution. If this is proved, violence will cease to be the indispensable adjunct of revolution, and society will be saved.

When western science reacted upon India's spiritual culture, it produced a new ideology which we may call "collective non-violence". It was a result of the fusion of the science of the West and the ethics of India. And it was through it that we secured freedom. Now it is the turn of the West to carry the ideology of collective Non-Violence to the West.

Science is a power for good or for evil. There must be some standards of morality in using that power. Science and violence go ill together as they will destroy society. Scientists, therefore, should have the courage to come out and refuse to sell their intellects. They must get together and tell their governments that they will not sell themselves to be utilized for destructive purposes.

Love brings forth enthusiasm, but only right thought can initiate and effect a revolution. That is why we do not beg for gifts but demand a share to which the poor are rightfully entitled. We want the people to understand and accept the idea that in a just and equitable order of society land must belong to all. We rely more than anything else on the force of this thought for furthering our cause. Conflict is one of the factors of

progress, but essentially it is ill-qualified to bring about a revolution.

We will not go like beggars demeaning ourselves, for we believe in equal sharing of wealth. Nor shall we go like superiors ordering people to comply with what we say and humiliating those who do not. No, we will go as a brother to a brother, or a son to a father, and ask them—our sense of love appealing to their sense of love—to part with a due share in favor of the poor.

The poverty and suffering which we see around are man-made and man can abolish them. But the remedies which touch only the surface will not do for this purpose. We will have to change the entire structure of society.

Changing the social structure does not mean doing

something which is against human nature. No, in fact what we seek to do is nothing but to follow the dictates of our human nature, our real nature which constitutes our humanity.

We do not aim at doing acts of kindness but at creating a kingdom of kindness. Kindness can and does exist even in the kingdom of wickedness, but only as a pinch of salt does in food—kind acts only add to the taste of that with which they are mixed. We must, therefore, develop a larger view and desist from undertaking any activity merely because it appears to be a constructive act of service.

*We are indebted to Suresh Ramabhai for making available to us this statement of Vinoba Bhavé's beliefs.*

## Some Little Sayings and Observations

*Gentle and giving—all the rest is treason.*

*No man's life is beautiful except in hurtless work.*

*The autumn leaf is emblazoned with spring's belief.*

*He who lives in sin's fear has mistaken eternity's hour for God's year.*

*"Modern scientific accomplishments"—a wealth of methods coupled with a poverty of intentions which, having nearly exhausted the hell-potential of the earth, move on now to the first frontier of the heavens.*

*What shall light us to murder and defile if by some chance the Laws of the State happen to get turned off?*

*Law and disorder embrace on hate's border.*

*Yes, they've dirtied the Tree, and dirtied the ground under it but somehow I feel they won't succeed in keeping much more than the record of their own lack of spirit and humility tethered there.*

*God must have loved the People in Power, for he made them so very like their own image of him.*

*Where? What place is a child looking at a bird in?*

*An ear with an hippopotamus attached—what an amazingly unlikely way for the buzz of a tiny fly to get heard!*

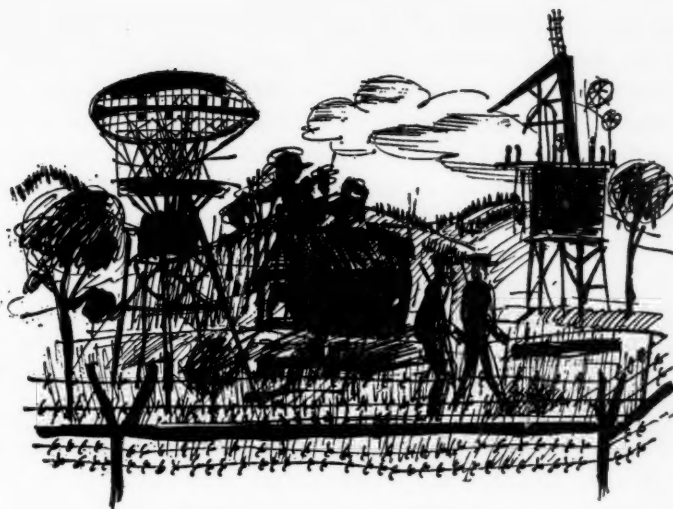
*Take taking from those who give and nobody anywhere will need any more such gifts.*

Kenneth Patchen



# NO REAL PEACE POLICY

Pitirim Sorokin



## Noble Declarations — and Ignoble Policies

To my great regret, I do not see, as yet, a real peace-policy on the part of either the Soviet or the American bloc of nations, or on the part of the factions representing these blocs in the United Nations. The governments of both alliances are still busy mainly with mutual cold war, armament race, "massive retaliation," and other preparations for the most destructive and most inhuman war, and with the pursuit of their selfish tribal interests. In their public declarations the governments of each alliance try to assure the world of their unreserved dedication to the realization of peace, freedom, universal brotherhood, and so on. Unfortunately, in their actual behavior and policies the ruling groups of both blocs practice little, if at all, their noble preachings and incessantly violate the precepts of their highfalutin' sermons.

No wonder, therefore, that some ten years after the cessation of the second World War, there is still no real peace, no mitigation of the cold war, and no decrease in the danger of the Third World War. Instead, in both blocs we have had progressively increasing military budgets, intensification of armament race, an ever madder recruitment of allies for wholesale murder, an ever crazier building of military bases, a proliferation of short-sighted military, economic, and political maneuvers, fol-

lowed by a deterioration of freedom and by an alienation of the "inalienable" rights of the citizens of both alliances. We observe a progressive totalitarization of even the democratic regimes, increase of crime, mental disease, of a sense of insecurity, and weariness, not to mention rising taxes and cost of living, and other burdens imposed upon the populations of both blocs. The post-armistice governments of both blocs have accomplished very little in the task of building a lasting universal peace. Intentionally or not, they have contributed a great deal to the danger of explosion of new wars, to the undermining of a stable order throughout the world, and to the disintegration of the greatest human values which are misused and abused in their hypocritical propaganda.

## Revisions of the Premises

As long as the governments of both sides continue these shortsighted and cynical policies, there is little chance for an establishment of a truly peaceful, just, and creative order in the human universe. If we want to build such an order, the major premises, as well as the major policies of the governments of each bloc, need a drastic revision and modification. Here are a few suggestions:

1. The governments of each alliance should not believe, as they do, that by their sermons they can fool the governments of the other bloc as well

as the bulk of the citizens throughout the world. The discrepancy between their noble declarations and the ignoble policies is so glaring that it is clearly visible to most ordinary people. If the governments cannot carry on a truly constructive policy of peace, a frank acknowledgment of the selfishly cynical nature of their power-policies is preferable to their hypocritical profanation of the great values in their "psychological and ideological warfare."

2. The governments should be aware that the international and the intranational conflicts they are dealing with are not the ordinary, local, and limited conflicts with which the politicians and diplomats are accustomed to deal, but they are the manifestations of the extraordinary, the world-wide, the total, the unlimited, and the severest crisis of the whole of humanity and its sociocultural universe. Directly and indirectly all human beings; all societies and nations; all cultures in all their compartments are involved in this crisis and in the endless current conflicts which are its manifestations. The struggle unfolded on the historical stage of our time is not only the dramatic struggle for supremacy between Communism and Capitalism, or Totalitarian and Democratic political systems, or the Colonial and the anti-Colonial nations, or between Religion and Atheism, or between the East and the West, or between

this or that kind of philosophy, ethics, education, ideology, fine art, or the ways of life. The great tragedy of our age contains in it all these and many other conflicts involving the very life and death of hundreds of millions of human beings. If the ordinary methods of the politicians and diplomats, —a mixture of deceitful persuasion and coercion, including the means of limited warfare, could now and then (by no means always) solve in the past the ordinary conflicts, these methods are entirely unfit for the solution of the total crisis of our time. If in the past an error was made in the handling of ordinary conflicts, the disastrous consequences of such an error were limited: at the worst only a minor part of the human population and of the planet was ruined and had to pay the price for the blunders of the ruling groups. If an important error is made in the solution of today's tensions and conflicts, and especially of the cold warfare between the American and the Soviet blocs, it means an irremediable catastrophe for the whole of mankind and for all the greatest values of the human universe. The price for such an error will be the termination of the creative mission of humanity on this planet either forever or for a very long time.

3. In comparison with the totality of the greatest values involved in today's conflicts, the single value of either Capitalism or Communism, Totalitarianism or Democracy, Colonialism or anti-Colonialism, Religiosity or Atheism, High or Low Economic Plans of living, and so on, becomes relatively insignificant. Insignificant become also the advantages or disadvantages to any single nation. In comparison with the probable destruction of all the great values and of millions of lives in a new World War, a temporary defeat of any of the competing single values or of the advantages of a single nation is a very small loss.

With the totality of the great val-

ues of all the nations at stake, only irresponsible fools can clamor for the new world-war in order to save any one of these single values or to get some advantages for their nation. All the crusaders of preventive or retaliatory war for salvation of either Communism or Capitalism, Democracy or Autocracy, Religion or Atheism, Colonial Mastery or Independence, economic or other privileges for one's own nation are irresponsible madmen, more dangerous for the whole of mankind than any ordinary criminal or homicidal maniac. Unfortunately, among the contemporary ruling groups and the citizens there is a considerable number of such irresponsible crusaders eager to start the world-wide conflagration. The practical moral is simple and self-evident: any war, and especially a world-war, must be unconditionally tabooed for every person, for every group, and for every government, without any exception whatsoever.

4. The next important fact which today's statesmen, especially the Western diplomats, must keep in mind is the *epoch-making shift of the creative center* of, and leadership in, human history from Europe to the much wider regions of the Pacific and the Atlantic. Roughly, for millennia, up to the fifteenth century this creative leadership was carried on by the peoples and civilizations of Asia and Africa. While our European forefathers were still in the stage of the primitive barbarians, in Asia and Africa the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Hittite, the Sumerian, the Iranian, the Hindu, the Chinese, the Japanese, and other great cultures and empires rose, flourished, and declined several times for millennia. Beginning with the seventh century B. C. Greece and then Rome joined these great cultures, but the Greco-Roman cultures were only in part European, in another part they were Asian-African (Homer, Herodotus, Thales, and many other Greek cultural creators were born in Asia Minor). With the decline of the Gre-

co-Roman cultures, the Arabic peoples took an important part in the world creative leadership. It is only during the last five centuries that the creative center of history has been in the Euro-American West.

At the present time, the monopolistic European leadership is over, and the creative center of history has been shifting towards the region of the Pacific. The main actors of the next acts of the human historical drama are going to be: the Americas, the re-awakening great cultures of India, China, Japan, Russia; of the Islamic nations, and of Europe as one of the actors, but not as a monopolistic leader. The enormous changes that are now taking place in the great Asian and African nations and cultures, including their successful liberation from the colonial mastery of Europe and the West, are the manifestations of this momentous shift of the creative center of history.

5. This shift dooms to complete failure any policy of maintenance of colonial mastery by the West over the reawakening great cultures and peoples of Asia and Africa, and the policy of the traditional superiority of the West over the East. The quicker the Western governments abandon such policies, the better for the West, the East, and mankind.

### Concrete Conclusions

From the standpoint of the above premises, what kind of concrete international (and intranational) policies can prevent future wars, can secure a universal lasting peace, and can help in building of a nobler, happier, and more creative order in the human universe? The first and the most important step toward this goal consists in a *universal total disarmament* (except the minimum of the police-force for maintaining the life, security and the inalienable rights of every man from criminal violations). A limited disarmament may help somewhat, but is insufficient for a realization of the objective of peace. Each of the parties in-



involved in such a limited disarmament cannot help trying to secure for itself a superiority of arms and power over the other parties. A mere reduction of armament does not eliminate, even does not mitigate insecurity, suspicion, belligerency of each nation and its readiness to use the available means of war for the achievement of its political, economic, and other purposes. It does not even prevent a transformation of limited disarmament into unlimited armament, for if war comes, the governments involved in it are bound to expand their armaments to the unlimited maximum possible, and would hardly abide by the limited quota of armed forces apportioned to them in their "agreements" with other governments. This explains why disarmament must be total and universal, accepted and implemented by all nations, and solemnly proclaimed in the international law as well as in the constitution of each nation as their basic, unconditionally binding obligation and imperative.

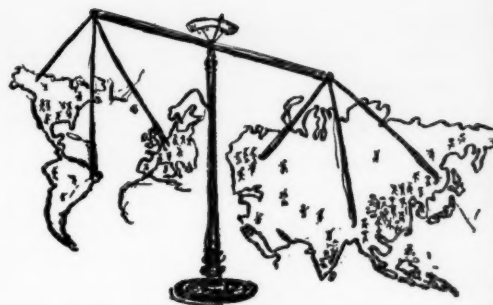
Similar considerations explain why lasting, universal peace cannot be secured by piecemeal agreements of various governments in the solution of this or that conflict. Though such piecemeal agreements may help somewhat in the prevention of this or that armed conflict, they cannot yield a lasting universal peace. In the existing constellation of numerous complex, crisscross conflicts of various nations, a peaceful solution of one single conflict between two or a few nations does not eliminate the multitude of other conflicts and, what is more important, invariably provokes a series of new conflicts. First of all, on the part of the nations whose interests are sacrificed by the agreement of two or a few governments, for typically, two conflicting nations reach an agreement at the cost of a third nation or of a few other nations. The "sacrificed" third parties (nations) naturally cannot accept such a "peaceful solution" at their own cost and will oppose and

fight it by all means at their disposal, including war. In this way, the piecemeal solution of a given conflict calls forth the new conflicts which sometimes are much worse than the eliminated conflict.

In the second place, the piecemeal solution generates new conflicts even between the agreeing governments. It rarely happens that the "peaceful solution" of a conflict is equally acceptable to both parties. As a rule, through various pressures, the stronger party imposes upon the weaker party the "peaceful solution" advantageous to the former and harmful to the latter. Most of such agreements are in fact agreements under duress. The nations forced to accept a disadvantageous solution cannot help trying to free themselves from such covenants by any means.

Thus, if the problem of the unification of Germany is carried on according to the propositions of the Western Big Three, it will conflict with the vital interests of the nations of the Soviet bloc. And, if it leads to German re-militarization, and German political and economic domination in Europe and on the world-market, it eventually will be opposed by France, England, and even by the United States, not to mention other countries. If the problem of German unification is solved according to the Soviet formula, such a solution will be conflicting with the interests of the American bloc of nations, and with those of a large part of the German nation. In both cases these conflicts would generate and feed mutual animosities and cold wars, and sooner or later cause hot wars.

The same can be said of any piecemeal solution of any single conflict between any two or greater number of nations: between Egypt and Israel, the Northern and the Southern Indonesia and Korea, France and Germany, England and Greece, even the United States and Russia. As long as there is no universal disarmament and no unconditional prohibition of war, any of the numerous conflicts of



our time will continuously feed various forms of cold war and will lead, periodically, to hot wars.

Total disarmament needs to be supplemented by other constructive measures, such as: increase of the life-necessities through science and technology; more equitable distribution of these necessities among the members of human race; progressive elimination of poverty, disease, and hatred; the moral or altruistic transformation of the individuals and groups, with the resulting development of inter-human sympathy, respect and cooperation among all the individuals and groups, and, finally by increase of a constructive creativity in all fields of culture. Given these supplementations, universal and total disarmament is bound to blot out war and other forms of bloody conflicts from human history, and to pave the way towards a new and truly magnificent order in the human universe.

For the shortsighted partisans of so-called *Realpolitik* all this may sound like a utopian dream, impractical and impossible. If, however, the problem of establishment of lasting peace is seriously studied, then the outlined plan will be found to be the only real way to the peace-goal, while the political machinations and the piecemeal measures of these "practical politicians" will appear to be perfectly utopian and hopeless for pacification and recreation of the human universe. Their "realistic policies" have been practiced for millennia; and yet, they have not brought peace to mankind. There is no reason to believe that these policies can perform the miracle in the future.



*In Germany, Dickinson carried out his investigations in conjunction with the German Public Opinion Polling Institute. In addition he made a comprehensive case-history study of a German-Jewish intellectual who perished in one of the extermination camps of Eastern Europe.*

## JOHN K. DICKINSON

**This article is not an apologia for these actions. It is**



I MAKE a distinction between guilt and responsibility in this connection. By the former I refer to a subjective reaction of repentance, i.e. a "sense of guilt". That this was demanded of the Germans is clearly seen in the many articles and press reports of the immediate post-war years which chide the Germans for failing to exhibit this subjective reaction. By respons-

ibility I mean their objective behavior as a link in the causal sequence.

An adequate understanding of the reaction of the Germans when they became aware of the terrible events in which their responsibility was so great demands an attempt to explain how and when those events occurred.

From the outset, I exclude one kind of explanation of these terrible events which has a wider currency than is generally acknowledged. This involves the assumption that the "German" reacts differently than others when faced with basic human problems. I realize that there are patterns among the Germans which are related to the manner in which they became party to Nazi atrocities. But the character structure explanation too often falsifies the picture by avoiding complexities arising from historical and cultural factors.

### Racism

**IDEOLOGY**—the rationalization of historical events and social patterns in terms of a conscious ideational system—has a great deal to do with what happened in Germany between 1933 and 1945. Crudely put, the racist views of Houston Stewart Chamberlain had more to do with Auschwitz than did the "authoritarian personality", though I certainly would not deny a relationship between the two.

This is not to say that the Nazi system was exclusively racism. Racism was, nevertheless, the hallmark of its irrationality. This was not seen at first for two reasons.

One was the very currency and respectability of the racist ideology, particularly in Germany, but also in Western Civilization generally. The Jews were one of the main victims of this ideology, just as their existence was one of its props, because a Christian Europe blamed the Jews for occupying a position into which it had forced them. Prior to 1933, Nazi anti-Semitism was too often seen merely as a variant of a widespread "social" anti-Semitism, which was thought to be harmless because so many social anti-Semites had never faced the implications of their attitudes and behavior.

The other reason why Nazi racism wasn't recognized for the evil it was lay in the pattern of events surrounding the rise of the Nazi party. The Nazi program offered something to everyone, and in the Germany of the early Thirties almost everyone desperately needed one or another of its offerings.

Certainly, the Germans can be held to a degree responsible for "bringing the Nazis to power". Yet this phrase covers an enormously complex chain of political and social phenomena. It says little or nothing which would support a demand for guilt reaction in 1945.

### Ideology and Power

ONCE THE NAZIS were in power, another, very general process began, which was to lead to the direct involvement in the extermination camps

of thousands of Germans: anti-Semitic, racist doctrine, received an enormous boost in persuasiveness simply because it was the doctrine of those who held effective power. This is a process which can be observed everywhere: the opinions and argumentation of those who hold effective power become more persuasive simply because those who use and hold them can make a difference in the life of potential dissidents. In specific cases this is often unrecognized, partly because there is seldom a direct threat, partly because recognition of it would damage the individual's self-esteem.

This was the trap into which social anti-Semitism fell. The social anti-Semite in Germany as elsewhere would never "normally" have harmed, much less murdered, a Jew, being content to express his attitude in avoidance and snide remarks. He cared little about its ideological basis. Suddenly he was confronted not only with the explicit propagation of this basis, but more importantly, with the fact that his adherence to it was politically and occupationally advantageous. The social anti-Semite then became a conscious ideologue.

But now, so to speak, he had to put up or shut up. His ideology had always implied exclusion and persecution of the Jews. When rewards for adherence to this ideology, and penalties for deviation, appeared it was hardly to be expected that the erstwhile anti-Semite would shy away from the next step—putting the Jew in his place. Some did shy away; there were cases of waking up to the implications of previous behavior. By and large there was no awakening.

The most terrible aspect of the situation was that a process of selection was set up whereby those who were willing and able to kill could go on to the ultimate. Indeed, the person who clearly foresaw the destination could look upon himself as one of the elect, rising above "sentimental" considerations, much as in America today one can privately meet a good many hard-boiled realists who refuse to let "sentimental" considerations keep them from advocating preventive war with the East. Furthermore, every step in the process of becoming such an "initiate" was backed up and given moral support by the existence of all the more numerous people who had taken the immediately preceding step.

### Not Depravity

WHAT is important to note here is that this process of selection was one of increasing involvement with a pernicious rationalization. It was not, in any usual sense, a slide into depravity or immorality. On the contrary, at any step of the way it was possible to see the conflict between an older, traditional morality and the demands of the Nazi ideology, as a conflict between purely personal, moral or emotional scruples and the demands of a "higher" morality: Duty to Fuhrer, to nation, to race.



The usual picture is one of bad means in conflict with and debasing good ends. What we have in this case is a mutual intensification of the evil in both, in a vicious circle which ended up in the mad dedication of the death camps.

### The Individual German and the Gas Chamber

IN ASSESSING the significance of the way in which individual Germans were involved in this cycle, it is necessary to distinguish between direct and indirect responsibility.

The men who herded the Jews into the gas chambers, who operated the crematoria, were directly res-



ponsible and lived with an immediate awareness of the consequences of what they were doing. The enormity of this awareness was so great that their very ability to stand it (and by no means all of them could) leads one to suspect pathology and what might be called moral primitiveness. However, it is necessary to say that pathology arose less from an exploitation of men and women with previous

sadistic and homicidal tendencies than it did from developing and directing these tendencies among those who had them to a degree only slightly above average. It was less a question of finding the sadist in the population than it was of offering rationalizations and justifications to those groups in which the sanctions against brutality and murder had been weakened. Such groups appear to exist among all peoples; certainly the SS was not unsuccessful in recruiting ruthless and brutal units in the occupied countries.

It would be among this group that a failure to develop a conscious acknowledgement of guilt would be most dangerous for the future. The sanctions violated were too strong to have permitted the development of emotional neutrality; the basis for the world's scorn and accusation too real. For the person who had been so involved, there were few half-way steps between deep recognition of guilt and a defiant assertion of having acted under orders. And this justification in a world where authority plays the part it does in all social systems, could not be adequately dealt with by the accusers. The demand by the latter that these and other Germans should confess guilt after 1945 was tragically inadequate by reason of its exclusive concern

with the vanquished and its automatic unconcern for accusations against the victors. Consequently it was possible, for some of these directly involved in killing to assume the air of the injured, the unfairly treated.

### Death Camps and War

THE GROUND becomes somewhat more familiar, when we begin to talk about indirect responsibility. It is an enormity to sign a paper which will lead to the death of 10,000 Jews—but if the man who so uses his signature actually believes that these Jews are worthless, subhuman scum, and if he doesn't have to participate in shoving them into the fatal "baths" or in removing the revoltingly tangled bodies, his action becomes one of a pattern with which the world is too familiar: he sanctions the means, the evil of which he knows only indirectly, for the sake of the end which he believes is good. This is the pattern of all war, all punitive chastisement and execution.

### Germans in General

WHEN we proceed to the situation among the great mass of the German people, my experience, during several recent stays in Germany leads me to conclude that very little was known among them about the precise nature of the concentration camps. This is not to say that nothing was known, or to contend that the Germans used every opportunity to learn the facts. Nevertheless, it is demonstrable that the Gestapo took draconic measures to prevent a spread of detailed or accurate information about the camps. The fortunate few who gained a release from the camps did not, out of an understandable fear of the consequences, advertise what they had seen and experienced.

Furthermore, the resistance and incredulity with which the Germans met foreign reports of the camps has its reasonable as well as its shameful side. In a situation of psychological or actual warfare an accepted method of undermining enemy morale and strengthening one's own is to discredit the enemy regime by attributing to it all forms of baseness, deceit and brutality. It can be granted that there was a larger proportion of truth in the reports sent into Germany during the Nazi regime than has usually been the case in such situations. But counteracting this was the experience the Germans had had with atrocity accusations during World War I when most were false.

The shameful aspect of the matter was, nevertheless, real—let there be no mistake about it. Most Germans did not *want* to believe, not only what they heard and read, but the implications of what they saw going on around them. This too is a human failing, not an exclusively German one. From 1941 to 1945 Americans did not want to believe and did not believe the evils attributed to the Russians, and like the Germans, they



have now tended to forget this instead of coming to terms with it.

The actions which most Germans had to rationalize were not extermination camps or mass and methodical brutality, but rather what had appeared to them as stringent "revolutionary", or war methods. In the earlier years a new state was being formed, with a basis in the commonly accepted virtues of loyalty, recognition of duty, and selfless participation. We see the racial policy as it applied to the Jews and justly condemn it (except for the not insignificant number of those among us who covertly accept it); but this



policy also, manifested itself in the ideas of eugenic excellence, purity, and significance of family lines, eugenic control of criminality and insanity. These ideas, whether scientifically respectable or not, have an acceptance among us which is not covert and not inconsiderable.

The point is that an ideology which could and did provide justifications for the SS in the camps was more than adequate to justify what most Germans actually saw and experienced. What they saw could, and *did* in some cases, appear even as kindness. Told that the Jews were the scum of the earth, plotting the pollution and destruction of the Nordic civilization, they also heard repeated warnings to take no action against the Jews individually. In the beginning they had often seen the statement that "our insistence of racial difference does not mean that each race does not have its own peculiar virtues."

For the discomforts and pangs which an individual felt when a former friend was mistreated, or when he momentarily reacted with the thought "this is going too far," there was the guilt-erasing justification that to take action would lead to punishment, either directly or through exclusion from a community of beliefs and goals which he largely accepted. The force of such actual or threatened punishments is one which a civilization forgets at its peril.

### The Opposition

THERE were also moments of opposition, and in the context of the post-war demand for admission of guilt, these moments loomed very large. The rewards for having opposed, and the punishments for having cooperated with the Nazi regime were so great and so

immediate that each frantically recollected moment of opposition assumed exaggerated proportions.

At the end of the war practically every German could look back to a time or situation when he felt oppositionally, spoke oppositionally, and—less frequently though not seldom—acted oppositionally. That the Germans attempted in the press of denazification to maximize their opposition was neither surprising nor contemptible. Of course the attempt was absurd. Of course self-deception was of its essence. But surely it is a common mode of human behavior under stress.

It was very important that the absurdity should be

seen, the self-deception recognized. But contempt was not the attitude which could foster this, and in combination with the fact that both the absurdity and deception succeeded occasionally in fooling the victors, the pervading sense of justice was strengthened and often turned into a despairing and cynical opportunism.

### Victors and Vanquished

WITH these points in mind, it is possible to say that responsibility was everywhere and nowhere. Further: That it was *either* everywhere with the victors acknowledging their share, or it was nowhere with the vanquished denying theirs.

The racist ideology was international; its triumph in Germany was due to a complex of causes, including many arising from the earlier actions of the victorious nations. The individual German could hardly be held responsible, and Germany as a society bore a responsibility more instrumental and mediated than a man or a nation can be hung for. This ideology did not, moreover, triumph in Germany without a struggle; it was fought with vigor and bitter determination by millions on an intellectual level as well as in the streets.

Many, probably most, Germans recognize that a crime was committed against the Jews. A number, limited to a minority less by ill-will than by the real difficulty of seeing and understanding the complex relationships involved, accepts the grave part which traditional German culture and values played. Such people also accept their personal responsibility in varying degrees; they were blind, they let themselves be used, they weren't forthright enough in their opposition, etc. etc. Nevertheless, their reaction is not one which can be called guilt, and does not usually represent a fruitful coming

to terms with, and re-evaluation of, their experience.

A few people do show emotional reactions which they verbally relate either to their own guilt, or to the guilt of the German people including themselves. In the very few cases where I was able to observe this reaction, it struck me as being wholly sincere . . . but quite unrelated to an acknowledged and felt guilt. I had the impression that a real horror and regret at *what happened to the Jews* was being combined with an unconscious attempt to display the reaction which I, as an American, was thought to expect of them.

I was struck by its inadequacy to the crime to which it was supposed to be a response. This led me to the question: What would an adequate response be? And this question seemed to me to point to the crux of the whole matter, because the answer can only be: *There is no adequate emotional guilt response*. It was fruitless to demand one, sterile and cruel to take its absence as an additional crime to be imputed to the Germans. It is conceivable that a sense of guilt could have been fostered. But it would have been impossible to make it qualitatively or quantitatively adequate to the crime.

### Obliteration Bombing

THE DEMAND for admission of guilt which was made of the Germans by the victors was based on a series of dramatically presented revelations of what had gone on under the Hitler regime, primarily the horrors of the concentration and extermination camps. These revelations did not, however, come at a time when soul-searching was possible for the Germans; on the contrary, they came at a time when, willy-nilly, most



Germans were frantically or apathetically trying to survive in a social and economic chaos. What was happening to themselves and their families inevitably was more real than the revelations which were thrown at them.

The horrors of the camps, laid bare now for the first time to the Germans were presented almost as a side-show and on these terms millions of Germans had just gotten through being participants in similar horrors: the holocausts of Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg and Frankfurt. They were shown pictures of massed bodies or led through the camps to look at them; but they had seen people writhing and screaming in the bombed cities. Many broke in front of this additional loathsomeness; many beat their breasts trying to do what was expected of them. They did not feel guilt, and they did not understand. The only thing that was clear to them was that

they had had no part in *that*. More important, perhaps, they did remember that there had been some who must have had a direct connection with these horrors. Fear and guilt were easily unloaded on these others, and the ground was prepared for pathetically indignant rejection of what they felt to be the victor's attempt to set them on the same level with the SS and its minions.

The attempt to make a legal discrimination among degrees of involvement, as exemplified by the de-nazification program, came later. The initial shock of contact between the Germans and the allied troops was characterized by the general allied statements and the blanket order of non-fraternization which presented a real basis for the Germans to feel that they were all being tarred with the same brush. The denazification proceedings, in turn, were so shot through with the incomensurability between actual involvement and a legal classification of this involvement that they were fated from the beginning to do what they did do: arouse confusion, resentment, mistrust, and a scrabbling opportunism.

### Brother or Pariah

IN THE context of events the outcome was inevitable. Had the victors shown compassion instead of scorn; had they acknowledged that in resorting to means incompatible with their ideals they had shared an important aspect of experience with the Germans; had they recognized the parts which they played in the development of Nazism, and the features of Nazism which their own societies contained; had they said "brother" instead of "pariah" . . . had they done these things, a creative awareness could have been met with a creative awareness. But military defeat and victory have their own laws, and the just war is an abstraction which starts to corrode as soon as it takes concrete forms.

### MEN . . .

. . . while it might be possible to evacuate thousands of people, it would be clearly impossible to evacuate the factories where they earn their living. If the plants stay, the people must also stay. If the people stay, then they and their homes and our factories must be ready to fight back through a sound civil-defense program. This is the basic reasoning behind the civil-defense effort . . .

House of Representatives Report No. 3209  
December 19, 1950

### . . . WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Washington, Feb. 7 (AP)—Representative Martha Griffiths told a defense-planning scientist today she had "an uneasy feeling" that women and children would be considered expendable in an atomic war.





# THIS AND THAT

## Let Not Your Heart Be Troubled

Being in the arduous business of launching a new magazine, we were naturally intrigued and comforted by the above headline on a full page ad in a recent issue of the *New York Times* describing Dr. Norman Vincent Peale's pocket monthly, *Guideposts*. We were still further elated when we read that Peale had started this magazine on \$2,000 and a borrowed typewriter. We have a slight head start there.

The analogy cannot be pressed much farther perhaps. For example, we probably shall not be able to perform the miracles of which *Guideposts* boasts. A California widow, paralyzed and confined to a wheel chair, was utterly dependent on a grown son. An article in the *Guideposts* so inspired her that she promptly opened—of all things—a magazine subscription agency. Soon she was financially independent and her son, released from responsibility for his mother, was able to marry.

Handicapped as we are in the miracle field, we have little hope of achieving the 800,000 circulation figure of *Guideposts*.

There may be just a chance we shall bear more likeness to a fictitious magazine named *Slaughter-House Informer*, described in a recent novel. Originally intended for the abattoir trade, it turned political and became a *Weekly for Angry People*. Soon, according to the reviewer, "its sensational articles were reverberating in Downing Street and the corridors of Whitehall."

## The Mind of Mars

Like most generals and conquerors Napoleon was a fatalist. He understood the perverse human urge to give in, to be swept along by the tide of events. In a new book, *The Mind of Napoleon*, edited and translated by J. Christopher Herold, we find him saying, "Troops are made to let themselves be killed." It is not so much the killing, but the being-killed that is the heart of war. This implies a sad and ascetic view of human beings—an ultimate Puritanism of the mind and soul. In the light of it we understand the saying of the French pacifist Alain: "War is the great test which justifies a whole life of wicked despair." The warrior always says in effect: "See, I told you. This is what it all comes to. We are not worth much, and human life is not worth much. We knew all along that there is nothing to hope for. Let us now kill and be killed."

## Book Notes

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. (N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1955; 527 pp., \$5.50).

First of two volumes on academic freedom, this is designed to furnish an historical background for a survey of present conditions. In part I, Hofstadter discusses the "Age of the College" after a discussion of European universities and the slow emergence of the idea of toleration. The colleges, under denominational control, occasionally faced heresy trials, but seldom faced questions of freedom of teaching. In "the age of the university" the first conflicts arose over the impact of Darwinism. Thereafter, most academic freedom questions have arisen through the cultural incompatibility of businessmen and academicians. Neither writer subjects the question of academic freedom—which has many overtones of the old "benefit of clergy"—to rigid analysis, though Metzger debunks some of the popular concepts and shows that "liberals" may be as oppressive as "reactionaries" in attempting to squelch divergent opinions.

W. H.

**ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN OUR TIME.** By Robert M. MacIver. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955; 329 pp., \$4.00).

Although the "American Academic Freedom Project" at Columbia University provided a relatively well-balanced and objective history as a background for this volume, the author seems not to have been instructed by it. The book is polemic in tone and in content, makes no distinction between academic and general freedoms, and raises more problems than it solves. It is the obverse of Buckley's dissertation on the defects of Yale, but does not succeed in rising above the indignant controversial level. The question of academic freedom is only discussed in connection with job tenure.

W. H.

**THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM.** By Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. (Longmans, Green, New York, 1955; 401 pp. \$7.50).

Defending "liberalism" (but not always consistently) in Jeffersonian-agrarian-individualist terms, Dr. Ekirch traces the steady aggrandizement of government against the liberties of the people. Although some of his analyses are inadequate, his general account is accurate and thought-provoking. Especially noteworthy is his description of the Teddy Roosevelt Progressives as nationalists, and of the self-hypnosis of the New Deal "liberals" as they betrayed their principles and the American tradition into support of World War II and the Communist hunt thereafter.

W. H.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.** By David A. Shannon. (Macmillan, New York, 1955; 320 pp., \$4.50).

A careful, objective study of the momentary success, the development of factionalism and splintering, and the failure of the Socialist Party. The end conclusion is that the Party was never integrated into American history, never really the voice of protest. The book has real value as an object lesson for those who hope a new party can implement desirable change.

W. H.





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